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EDITORIAL

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In the last number, the announcement was carried that Wayne University has secured the services of Dr. Lloyd Allen Cook to head a newly created division in the University, the central purpose of which is to conduct "a continuing study of urban culture as it shapes area life, child personality, and school functions." The project is being sponsored by the American Council on Education and financed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

This is perhaps the most advanced step in education since the time of the establishment of the Department of Educational Sociology at New York University. It is a long overdue recognition of the fact that human behavior is much more a matter of culture than of the biological structure of the individual or the psychological capacity for adjustment which he inherits.

It is also significant that this development has taken place at Wayne University in Detroit, one of the most heterogeneous of our American cities. In addition to the fine work that has been accomplished there under the leadership of the present Sociology Department, this new departure will give Wayne University a strategic position in its contribution to teachers' understanding of the relationship of group life to human personality.

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It is significant too that this problem is recognized by the American Council on Education and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. After reviewing the studies done by the American Council on Personality Development of Negro Youth in varying environments ranging from the rural southern to the urban northern, one can understand why the Council is interested in a sociology department's carrying on a continual study of this kind. It is the firm belief of the editor that they are on the right track in this new venture.

Further significance is also to be found in the fact that the project is financed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. This organization has for many years been experimenting with different techniques for elimination of intergroup prejudices and improvement of human relations. Their beginning was primarily through religious channels and this emphasis has not been abandoned up to the present time but it is wholesome to see that, in more recent times, they have developed through Professor Wilson of Harvard and numerous other channels, an approach to education as the instrument for achieving their objectives.

Some good things have been accomplished through the examination of textbooks and other work of that sort. More perhaps is being accomplished today through the workshop approach to the training of teachers. The workshop, however, has the limitation of not having enough essential information to be distributed in the workshop session, and a pooling of ignorance does not make knowledge whether it is done in panel discussion or in workshop sessions.

This program will, no doubt, help round out the picture. Essential research in intergroup relations must be carried much further than it has been to the present, if a significant impact is to be made on human prejudices through this channel.

Congratulations to Wayne University and best wishes to Professor Cook and his fine associates as they undertake this important task!

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

Francis J. Brown

Before attempting to view the future of higher education in the period following war, it is necessary first to glance backward for a brief review of some of the fundamental changes in higher education created by war.

The most obvious effect of World War II was the rapid decline in enrollment in terms of the over-all picture, with the losses curbed in some institutions by the Army and Navy college-training programs. The significant implication of this fact is neither the loss of enrollment nor the service that the institution rendered to the armed forces and to industry. It is rather that, in the first instance, institutions liberalized their admission policies, re-evaluated their degree requirements, and earnestly sought, in a seller's market, to appeal to students.

In the second instance, colleges and universities acquired a new functional emphasis. Specialist courses, other than medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, and veterinary medicine, given in cooperation with the armed forces included only such content as would help the individual function more effectively in his role in combat. The intensive courses offered through the Engineering, Science, Management and War Training Program (ESMWT) likewise included only knowledges and skills essential in war production.

Closely related to these changes was the development of close cooperation with agencies outside of the institution. Courses were planned jointly by industry and the institution. Classes were arranged in factories and in secondary schools through which some two-and-a-half-million men and women were given training in war production. Community activities were planned in cooperation with the organizations included in the United Service Organizations (USO).

Another change that still further illustrates this sharing of re-

sponsibility is higher education's acceptance of policies and procedures developed in cooperation with the armed forces in accrediting the educational values of military experience.

The first step in the development of these procedures was taken at a conference called by the American Council on Education which included representatives of the regional accrediting associations and of the armed forces. There followed more than two years of intensive activity, which included conferences in almost every State of the Union, the preparation of the *Guide to the Evaluation of Educational Experiences in the Armed Services*, the development of general educational development tests and other examinations, and the introduction of the use of a special United States Armed Forces Institute form—USAFI Form 47. The last provided a means for direct contact of service personnel with the institution in which they planned to enroll. Nine out of ten colleges and universities accepted these means of giving credit to and advising veterans.

Another administrative change that has considerable implication, at least during the period in which veterans will be enrolled in large numbers, is the new time sense that evolved. Institutions participating in the military college-training program and those giving courses for war production continued in operation twelve months of the year and, in many cases, extended the college day, with classrooms and laboratories in almost constant use.

The war brought a rapid shift to mathematics and science and, even in these fields, as indicated above, only to those areas that had direct and immediate value. As the war lengthened into months and years, there grew an increasing recognition of the serious gap that was developing in general education. Many colleges and universities became seriously concerned and a number issued public statements in an effort to counteract this inevitable consequence of war. The Harvard Report, *General Education in a Free Society*, was the one most widely distributed, but many faculty committees labored long over the same problem. The armed forces themselves

became likewise concerned. A committee was called in cooperation with the American Council on Education to draw up a minimum program of education for those in the armed forces who would have an opportunity to make up this gap through the Armed Forces Institute and the educational program carried on by the Information and Education Division of the Army and the Educational Services Section of the Navy. After more than a year of deliberation, the committee issued its report, *A Design for General Education*.

Although the armed-forces training program and those for war industry gave major and almost exclusive emphasis to the physical sciences, the training was not such as to develop highly competent research workers in the fields of engineering, physics, chemistry, and related fields. Selective Service was no respecter of science and, as the demand for manpower increased, all deferred students, except for men actually enrolled in related medical fields, were inducted into the armed forces. Even as of this writing, prospects for enrollment of medical, dental, and osteopathic schools indicate a probable shortage of at least one third in the 1946 freshman classes. Enrollment in the advanced classes in engineering and the physical sciences is less than half that of the prewar years.

These are some of the significant changes that war wrought in higher education. What then of the aftermath?

In terms of enrollment, Federal legislation and the encouragement given to the veteran has within this academic year shifted many colleges and universities from a seller's market to one in which the services of the institution are eagerly sought by large numbers of veterans. Faced with this changed circumstance, institutions are forced to select among the large number of applicants. Already reports are coming in that some are tossing aside the carefully developed procedures of evaluating the ability of individuals to profit from higher education, and substituting therefor prewar requirements—two or four years of a foreign language, two years of mathematics, or other specific requirements easy to administer

but very little related to probable success in college. In an effort to assist in counteracting this reversal of policy, a special Commission on Accrediting Service Experience has been appointed by the American Council. A field staff will hold regional conferences throughout the nation to interpret the accrediting procedure to high schools and colleges and thereby to help hold the line of advance made during the period of war.

In the aftermath of war, colleges must continue to evaluate their basic role in American life. The functional emphasis stimulated by the college-training program of the Army and Navy and by training for war industry will carry over through the attitude of veterans. The long years of separation from normal home and community environment and the maturing experiences of war have created for many military personnel an opportunity to evaluate their plans for the future. Some have had experience in the armed forces that has developed interests and vocational plans for their postwar life. They will desire a kind of education that will lead them as speedily and effectively as possible to the goal which they have set for themselves.

Institutions face a tremendous challenge in meeting this need and yet at the same time in helping them to realize "that man does not live by bread alone." Never before has the nation faced such internal strife nor the world been at grips with such far-reaching problems. The very security of the world is at stake in the control of the unprecedented forces that war has unleashed. As this is being written, more than a million men and women are on strike. The wheels of production, so necessary for speedy reconversion and employment of veterans, are at a standstill in several of the nation's major industries. While the economic security of the nation is threatened, the Senate is in a filibuster and the Congress is at loggerheads with the administration. Political, economic, and racial tensions, already at a high pitch, bid fair to become worse rather than better, unless through some channel there can be a full and deep

appreciation of the fundamental values and ways found to work toward a solution of our problems. Higher education can play an important role if this functional emphasis of the war can be carried over from specific knowledge and skill to these larger and vital issues of the community, the nation, and the world.

This emphasis, in the aftermath of war, entails the continuance of the same kind of cooperation that developed during the war period. Reverting again to training for employment, many institutions are cooperating with industry and government in providing educational programs pointed up to specific fields. A number of colleges have organized special schools to train for foreign service; others have developed courses for specific areas of Government, such as Social Security or Intelligence Service. Schools of business administration are planning their courses in cooperation with industry. The Cornell School of Labor-Management Relations includes on its board representatives of both management and labor, and student interns must spend some time in the offices of both management and labor organizations. These are but a few of many illustrations that could be given, but again there is the danger that, with students clamoring for entrance, institutions will return to the more familiar areas of instruction and give less rather than more consideration to their relationships with the demands of life outside the college campus.

There are other problems that higher education must face. Some are immediate; others have import for the long range of years ahead. Of the immediate problems the most acute is that of housing. Through headlines—"Colleges Closed to Veterans," "Veterans Barred for Lack of Room"—a false picture has been given. While it is true that Ohio State has turned away five thousand veterans and others have been unable to admit all who applied, the number of such institutions is comparatively few. On January 15, 41 per cent of all veterans were enrolled in 38 colleges and universities. These 38 institutions normally enroll only 20 per cent of the total number

of individuals in institutions of higher education. Viewed nationally, 59 per cent of the veterans are distributed over all of the other 1,700 junior and four-year colleges. The majority of institutions can still accommodate veterans, and those that have turned them away are for the most part those which, except for the short period of war, have always selected students from more applicants than they can accommodate. Then, too, institutions are rapidly expanding their physical facilities, including housing by means of several methods: moving temporary housing on to college-owned property; leasing war housing and sections of a military establishment, either as an extension campus or as housing for students, transporting them to and from the regular campus; and a house-to-house attempt to find vacant rooms in the community. Institutions can still further remedy the present situation by developing on a regional basis a system of transfer of students. This has already been worked out in several regions: in the metropolitan area of New York and, on a State basis in Michigan and Alabama, to cite but three illustrations. A number of municipalities are initiating the development of junior colleges as an extension of the school system. Such temporary measures must be taken if higher education is to meet the needs of the veteran. If steps are not taken, and now, schools operating for a profit will reap a ripe harvest or, as a last resort, educational opportunities may be provided by the Federal Government.

When these temporary emergencies are projected into the longer range picture, institutions face another type of problem. Will these extensions of service be developed wholly on a temporary basis or with an eye to permanency? During the 1920's, in the aftermath of World War I, enrollment in colleges and universities more than doubled. Will the same be true in the coming decade? There is no factual answer to this question. The problem is one that each institution must face for itself, in the light of its own purpose and of its vision of the future.

Another basic problem which institutions must now face is that

of keeping a balance between enrollment of veterans and that of its usual clientele—the young men and women graduating from high school and going directly to colleges and universities. This will not be an easy task. Well-intentioned patriotic organizations are already bringing pressure to bear upon educational institutions to give veterans first priority. Institutions are eager to render maximum service; they have accepted the challenge of meeting veterans' needs. On the other hand, they know that over the long pull their greater service depends upon the eternal flow of youth from secondary schools into the colleges. They know, too, that the demand for education of high-school graduates will be greater than normal years, due to the inability to find employment in competition with veterans. They are fully aware of the fact that, unless they meet the needs also of youth, they will create an unwanted generation of college age; the cost to the nation in thwarted lives and in delinquent behavior will run far beyond the period of maximum educational needs of veterans. Again no general pattern can be laid down. No definite percentages could be proposed. Each institution must resolve its problem in the light of its maximum service to the community and to the nation.

There is one other problem that institutions must face in the aftermath of war. It is an old problem but one that was intensified by developments during the war period. This problem is the relation of higher education to the Federal Government. It is more than Federal aid to education, for it entails a number of relationships often conflicting and fraught with many basic issues.

One of the immediate areas of relationship is the proposed plan of compulsory military training. The preponderant judgment of college and university administrators and faculty is opposed to the present plan of one-year continuous training under the control of the military. Other proposals have been made, a number of which have been incorporated into bills now pending in the Congress. These include provision for equivalents to the one year and entail

only four months' mandatory training in a military establishment. It is not the purpose of this article to indicate what should be the judgment of higher education but rather to point out that the issue is not dead and that education must remain alert to its full implications.

Another area of relationship is highlighted by proposed legislation for Federal subsidy for scientific research. After prolonged discussion a compromise bill, S. 1850, was introduced by Senators Magnuson, Kilgore, and others. Again it is not our purpose here to evaluate the bills or present pros or cons. It is, instead, to urge that education be alert to the problems that are involved. How far is Federal subsidy of research justifiable? Should it be limited exclusively to the physical sciences or include also the social-science field in which the war's gap is even more serious. Should a system of Federal scholarship be administered independently of existing educational agencies of government—national and state? Should Federal funds be specifically allocated to particular types of institutions, such as a land-grant college or a State university.

Inherent in these Federal relationships is the issue whether government has a different type of responsibility toward tax-supported institutions as contrasted with those privately controlled. Over the years before the war, the general tendency of legislation was to limit Federal assistance to tax-supported institutions of higher education. By Federal contract for the college-training programs for the Army and Navy, for Engineering, Science, Management, and War Training programs and for research, Federal money was paid to colleges and universities in terms of the service rendered and without regard to whether they were privately or publicly controlled. The committee appointed by the House Committee on Education to study the effect of certain war activities upon colleges and universities recommended Federal assistance to make up the losses of war with no differentiation among institutions on the basis of type of control. In this study it was interesting to note that approximately four out of five college and university administrators, of both

privately and publicly controlled institutions, favored Federal assistance as a war emergency measure. Even more interesting is the fact that three out of five favored Federal assistance to both types as a permanent program. There were no substantial differences in the judgment of those administering public institutions and those in charge of private institutions. This is in sharp contrast to the preponderant opposition to Federal assistance of private institutions that existed before the war. Thoughtful consideration is now being given to legislation, to meet both the temporary college housing problem and the long range needs of higher education through Federal aid. These issues, too, should be carefully thought through lest patterns be created as precedent to long-range policies.

There are other problems that can only be hinted at. The rapid increase in enrollment makes it necessary to expand the faculty at the very time when personnel is most difficult to find. Institutions may be forced to forgo the usual degree requirements and overstep the age-old tradition that college teachers are not supervised.

There will be personnel problems. Through Public Laws 346 and 16 opportunities for education are now equally available to all veterans without regard to race or economic circumstances. The war provided an experimental background for almost complete equality. Can these gains be consolidated through a deeper understanding of human values and of group relationships?

The war telescoped into a few short months changes that would otherwise have taken years or decades. Some of these changes were made to meet immediate emergencies and have little significance for long-range services of higher education. Others, although made to meet emergency conditions, ran deep into the procedures and policies of colleges and universities. The next few years will to a large degree determine the course of higher education in America. Even more, decisions made now may to a large degree shape the future of higher education not only in America but in the world.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS IN COMBATING INTERGROUP PREJUDICE

Isidor Chein

It must not be supposed that "prejudice" is a single, homogeneous, and monolithic entity. Any programing for a fight against prejudice must be evaluated and oriented, from the very beginning, in terms of the fact that there are many semi-independent dimensions of prejudice. Not only do prejudices vary in the *objects* (persons, groups, institutions, etc.) against which they are directed, but they also vary in *kind*. Plans that may be effective for combating one *kind* of prejudice need not necessarily be effective for combating other *kinds* of prejudice.

Some of the major semi-independent dimensions of prejudice that should be considered in any over-all programing may be listed and described as follows:

1. The *informational* dimension. Here belong all of the familiar negative stereotypes which various groups hold toward each other and which, in many cases, are shared by members of the "victim" groups. Examples may readily be multiplied: the beliefs that Negroes are by nature, lazy, shiftless, happy-go-lucky, criminally inclined, unintelligent, etc.; that Jews are by nature, avaricious, overambitious, scheming connivers; that Catholics are constitutionally incapable of producing any original ideas or taking a self-determined stand on any public issue and that they are limited to echoing decisions made for them in "Rome." Here, too, belong many explanatory principles which, in the last analysis, represent faulty and biased information. The belief that a certain class of people is chronically dirty because of the *nature* of the people rather than because of the circumstances under which they live is a familiar instance. One must also mention, in connection with the informational dimension of prejudice, the many mistaken beliefs concerning various institutions that are associated with different groups of

people: that the Jewish faith, for example, calls for ritual murder; the religious services in all Negro churches, of whatever faith, have an orgiastic quality; that the Catholic creed transcends theology and invades politics.

The central problem in combating prejudices that belong to this dimension is to find ways and means of minimizing sources of incorrect information and promoting sources of correct information. It reduces largely to a many pronged and faceted educational attack: the introduction of suitable intercultural programs and materials at all levels of the school system and to the press and radio; the discouraging of motion-picture producers from perpetuating ethnic stereotypes; the discouraging of newspaper editors from giving differential treatment to crime news; and so on. Above all, it calls for the promotion of constructive and wholesome contacts and the minimizing of destructive isolation devices between different groups.

It has long been known to psychologists and educators that learning is apt to be specific. In other words, the provision of correct information to counteract certain informational biases against Negroes, for example, will not of itself counteract others; nor will it affect such biases with reference to Jews, Catholics, "foreigners," and so on. On the other hand, means of promoting "transfer" are also known. Recourse to them is desirable because they provide for greater economy in education. By developing certain *general principles*, one can undermine many informational biases with one fell swoop.

Such a general principle is available and it is basic to much contemporary scientific thinking. It is the principle that the *properties of objects do not inhere in the objects themselves*. Weight, mass, length, etc., are not simple properties of objects, but depend on the relation (relative velocity in the case of mass and length, the mass of neighboring objects in the case of weight, etc.) to other objects. The particular molecules that compose the bounding membrane

of a living cell are in constant flux, but the properties of the cell membrane are constantly determined by the prevailing intracellular and extracellular conditions. "Human nature" is at least in part conditioned by the existing human environment. If such a principle becomes part and parcel of one's thinking, then one automatically becomes suspicious of any attempt to explain, say, the low-average level of Negro education in terms of some *quality* of Negroes, but one looks instead to the prevailing circumstances under which Negroes must live. Even if one were to find some *quality* that is characteristic of most Negroes, one would automatically be disposed to wonder about the conditions which have produced and which maintain this quality. Inevitably, the disposition would be to look upon such a quality not as characteristic of "*Negro nature*," but as characteristic of conditions (known or unknown) that have produced it. Such a general principle can, and should, be "pushed" in every phase of education, formal and informal, regardless of whether the particular phase has any discernible pertinence to intercultural harmony.

Another such general principle pertains to the relation between the individual case and the statistical generalization. A particular apple is not the "average" apple and must be judged on its own merits. Again, this principle can, and should, be "pushed" in many educational areas including many which have no discernible relation to intercultural education. As with all such principles, however, its generality must be stressed wherever it arises so that it does not become a mere discrete item of information.

A third and related general principle pertains to the permissibility of generalizing from particular cases. Other principles may be mentioned. The important point, however, is that too many educators have been thinking of intercultural education merely as a new subject to be added and integrated into the curriculum. The point is that the roots of intercultural education go deeper than a special subject matter. These roots go to the foundation of all

education: discrete items of information are easily forgotten; general principles are not.

An edifice may, of course, remain standing even though its foundations have been undermined, but it takes much less effort to knock it over.

While educational measures are paramount in combating prejudice in the informational dimension, legislative measures are, of necessity, extremely limited. At best, they can provide for some extension, improvement, and clarification of laws pertaining to group libel. Few of the prevailing negative stereotypes can be construed as libelous, however, within any legal framework that seeks to maintain freedom of thought and expression. In any case, one cannot legislate away misinformation. Similarly, the minimizing of socially induced frustrations, as through the improvement of housing facilities, can be of little avail in this connection except, indirectly, in so far as it promotes wholesome contacts among different peoples.

2. The *conformity* dimension. Much prejudiced behavior does not stem from prejudiced attitudes or motives, nor even from faulty information, but rather from the need to conform to prevailing social norms or from simple inertia. Many a white person, for example, may find a particular Negro attractive but fail to cultivate the friendship in conformity with the conventions of his group. This particular variety of prejudiced behavior is not of great social import in comparison to the instance of the employer who refuses to employ Negro sales personnel simply because no one else does. "After all, there is always a risk in doing something new and, besides, why should I be the first? What will my customers say?" Or, the more subtle instance of the dean of an engineering school who justifies a *numerus clausus* for Jewish students on the ground that Jews find it difficult to obtain employment in engineering. It would, of course, be far different if he gave the prospective student

fair warning and permitted the latter to make his own decision. "But, after all," says the dean, "we must consider the good of the school, too. It will be very bad if we gain a reputation of having a large proportion of our graduates unemployed in the field of their training." Little does he realize that, by this acceptance of a prevailing prejudice, he is sustaining it. And, even if he does realize it, there is always the question, "But why should *we* be the ones to buck the *status quo*?"

For the conformity dimension of prejudice, educational measures are of little avail except in isolated instances in which, for example, an employer can be convinced that his sales record will not decline if he hires Negroes. In the main, however, educational measures applied to this dimension only succeed in engendering guilt feelings and perhaps generating hostility toward the "cause" (*i.e.*, the victim) of all of the trouble.

Legislative measures, on the other hand, constitute virtually the only means of breaking into the vicious circle: legislation, in all areas to which it may properly be applied, against discriminatory practices in employment, education, housing, and so on. It is only against such a legislative background that one can also hope to create, by educational measures, new social norms.

3. The *status* dimension. As is true of the prejudices in the conformity dimension, the prejudices of the status dimension do not depend upon feelings of hostility or contempt. On their lowest level, such prejudices depend on *selfish* motives in the most primitive sense of the word. There are material advantages which accrue to the *herrenvolk*. Many a Southerner who is more or less wholeheartedly in support of white supremacy is also quite ready to concede that the Negro is not necessarily an inferior creature; most will outrightly deny that they hate the Negro; at least the one who "knows his place." It is probably a safe guess that it was the same motivation which corrupted so many Germans.

More subtle than the seductive appeal of crude materialistic gain

is the gain in *ego* status which accrues from the sheer fact of belonging to the dominant in-group. Many a Southerner spoken to by the writer sincerely believed that facilities for Negroes should be brought to a par with those existing for whites in employment, education, housing, transportation, and so on, but stubbornly insisted on the maintenance of racial segregation and the principle that the Negro must acknowledge the superior status of whites.

This dimension of prejudice is by far the most difficult to attack. Its weakness is that, in the not too long run, the crude materialistic gains are patently illusory and that there must always be insecurity in status which is achieved through a pattern of dominance-submission.

The process whereby such prejudices must inevitably collapse is an educational one, to be sure, but it is one which can be little hastened by deliberate instruction. Not that there is no place for pointing the lessons of day-to-day experience, but it is on such intimate experience that the elimination of status prejudices depends. For, in the modern world, the majority of the *herrenvolk* suffer more from their superior status than they gain; and their scope must inevitably be broadened by this suffering to bring into view the fact that the losses are greater than the gains.

The major point of deliberate attack is in a hastened actualization of the principle of equal rights which is the foundation of our form of government and its extension into all areas of human rights, education, employment, housing, and so on. The mechanism is one of legalistic and social action which constantly achieves a wider base of support from the increasing numbers of people who develop a broadened scope. With the increasing actualization of social equality, however, the crude materialistic gains of superior status diminish and the more subtle motives of *ego* status find less and less upon which to feed. Inevitably, even those gains in *ego* status achieved through attitudes of benevolent and paternalistic condescension must become increasingly shallow and give way to the

realization that the alternative to dominance is not necessarily submission, that inferiority is not the only alternative to superiority, and that there is a more stable and secure status to be achieved within a pattern of equality.

4. The *emotional* dimension. Here one has to deal with attitudes of actual hatred and hostility. The important point to be recognized is that the objects rarely, if ever, justify the hatred. The phenomenon is essentially a displacement of aggression into conventionalized channels, aggression that is bred by frustration. Unique and private frustrations may, of course, be displaced in the same way; but the condition that creates and permits such a conventionalized channel of displaced aggression is a broad base of societally induced frustrations. It is no accident, for example, that the number of lynchings in fourteen southern States in the years 1882 to 1930 correlated with the annual per acre value of cotton to the extent of $-.67$.¹

The major point of attack against this dimension of prejudice is obviously not educational, but rather the minimizing of societally induced frustration through the enhancement of economic security, the improvement of housing facilities, and so on. By eliminating these sources of frustration, one minimizes the conditions that breed irrational hatreds. Even many private sources of frustration are thereby undermined. Family stability, for example, is promoted by socioeconomic security. Widespread prejudice, in the emotional dimension particularly, is symptomatic of a *generally* sick society.

The educator has a surprising role to play in this connection. It is to teach parents how to promote emotional security in their children from earliest infancy. A recent research finding² only underlines this point. The investigators were able to demonstrate certain characteristic patterns of emotional maladjustment in a group of anti-Semitic students selected on the basis of a questionnaire. Such

¹ John Dollard, Neal E. Miller, Leonard W. Doob, O. H. Mowrer, Robert R. Sears, *et al.*, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), p. 31.

² R. N. Sanford and E. Frenkel-Brunswick, "Some personality factors in anti-Semitism," *The Journal of Psychology*, XX (1945), 271-291.

patterns of emotional maladjustment are known to have their genetic origins in the early phases of infancy and childhood.

This characterization of various dimensions of prejudice is not based on factor analysis, although it would not be surprising if the latter approach provided corroboration. It is based on the experience that these different dimensions may be found in particular individuals in relative isolation. That is, a person may, for example, believe in the inferiority of the members of some ethnic group without deriving any satisfaction from it; or, he may hate the members of a particular group without believing in his own superiority; or, he may boldly maintain his status prejudices without supporting them in any way by any other type of prejudice.

On the other hand, these dimensions have been characterized as *semi-independent* because, when an individual displays two or more varieties of prejudice, they become structurally interrelated in the most complex ways. Various informational prejudices, for example, can readily be utilized for rationalizing status prejudices. One variety of prejudice makes an individual more prone to another variety. That is why a unidimensional attack upon prejudice is apt to be unsatisfactory.

This dimensional approach to prejudice helps in achieving perspective. Many a program has been roundly condemned as inadequate or useless, the critics thinking in terms of one dimension of prejudice and failing to apprehend the suitability of the program for other dimensions. Many a program has been hailed as a panacea, its proponents failing to realize that it may be effective for only one dimension. Prejudice is multidimensional and the war against it must be carried on multidimensionally.

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THE SEMINAR AS A METHOD OF IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Milton L. Blum and Claire Selltiz

This is a report of an in-service training course for teachers that was different. The usual in-service course consists of a series of lectures on subject matter or on pedagogical methods, with a sprinkling of discussion. Most of the ideas are provided by the "experts" conducting the course, and the role of the members is a passive one of absorbing knowledge.

Thirty teachers from the parochial and public-school systems of a large eastern city attended a seminar on relationships between Jewish and Christian school children. While specific reasons for taking the course varied, all members came voluntarily because of an interest in the common problem. Almost without exception, they put in more work than might reasonably have been expected.

The objectivity of the seminar approach made it possible for a mixed group of Jewish and Christian teachers to work together without friction in an area that is ordinarily considered "sensitive." The informality of the group participation encouraged a wholesome cohesiveness rare in educational courses. Many changes in individuals might reasonably be considered by-products of the seminar method; such changes are not often brought about by reading books or hearing lectures.

A Brief Outline of the Seminar

The first session of the seminar opened with an introduction in which it was pointed out that many of the facts needed for improving intergroup relations are not known, that the situation in each community is in some respects unique, that the people of a community are in a better position to gather facts and to draw conclusions from them than are outside "experts."¹

¹ "Experts," in this case, were New York staff members of the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress.

The group was then asked to relate anecdotes involving relations between Christians and Jews. This reporting of incidents continued at the second session, at the end of which it was pointed out that scattered anecdotes were an inadequate basis for understanding the situation, that a more systematic method of gathering facts was needed.

At the third session, tentative forms for gathering data (two questionnaires and an interview) were presented to the group, with a list of questions to be considered in evaluating and revising them. At the fourth session, the revised instruments were presented and the use of the two questionnaires demonstrated. The fifth and sixth sessions were devoted to training in interviewing by role practice and by discussing experiences in practice interviews. During the seventh session experiences in gathering data were discussed, with emphasis on a revision of one of the forms worked out by a member of the seminar.

After a lapse of five weeks, during which data were gathered by seminar members and analyzed by the project staff, a preliminary report on analysis of data was read. The following week, a committee of ten members of the seminar met to recommend action to be taken on the basis of the facts gathered. The final meeting consisted of discussion of these recommendations and setting up of definite plans for carrying them through.

Techniques of Encouraging Democratic Participation

One basic principle determined the administrative methods used in conducting the seminar: This was not to be a course in which "experts" handed out the answers, but one in which the members worked together to find the answers. This meant that the leader's activities were directed toward encouraging participation by all members of the group.

A first step was to arrange the meeting room in such a way that the physical setup was conducive to informality. A room with

movable chairs and no speaker's platform was secured. Chairs were moved from the straight rows provided for a lecture into a rough semicircle.

Participation by the group members was not limited to gathering data. They shared in formulating the problem to be investigated, in planning procedures within the meetings, in devising instruments to be used. It had been hoped that they would have a major part in analyzing and interpreting data, but problems of time reduced their participation at this stage to a minimum. They took over completely in planning action to be taken on the basis of their findings.

When the group first came together, many of the members did not know each other. Most of them were not accustomed to the particular pattern of democratic procedure used in this seminar. Three types of approach were used to draw them into active participation: (1) minimizing the "expert" role; (2) use of special planning committees chosen by the group; (3) breaking the large group into small work units.

1. In encouraging active participation by the group as a whole, it was emphasized that no one yet knows all the answers in the field of group relations and that the people who live in a community are best equipped to study and understand that community. At all times the leader offered his ideas simply as suggestions to be evaluated by the group. Members were encouraged to offer criticisms and other suggestions. In all instances the final decision rested with the group.

2. As an aid to staff planning, committee meetings were held between sessions. At all major decision points, the group was asked to name a committee to consult with the seminar staff. Such a committee met after the first session, to serve as a "sounding board" of group reaction and to give guidance for future sessions. Another committee met at a time when a change in subgroup structure within seminar meetings seemed necessary. When difficulties in

securing groups of children as sources of material necessitated changing the original plan, a committee was again called in. Further committees prepared preliminary recommendations for action on the basis of the findings, and reviewed the final report. An attempt was made to vary the membership of these committees, so that a "ruling clique" would not be formed. Committee meetings were usually held at dinner before the seminar sessions. This arrangement, originally dictated by time requirements, proved valuable in establishing informality and a sense of group unity. Decisions by committees gave the seminar members the feeling that they, through their representatives, were responsible for planning.

3. A usual session of the seminar had a full group meeting followed by the formation of three subgroups, each of which worked on a specific problem. Before the close of the session, the full group reconvened to hear subgroup reports. The time was about equally divided between work units and full group meetings. The work units discussed and revised the data-gathering instruments suggested by the staff, and made plans for securing groups of children, etc. It had been hoped that leaders for these work units would emerge from the group but, since there was not time for training sessions with these "natural" leaders, it seemed wise to provide staff members as unit leaders. The function of these staff members was to offer guidance and help keep discussion focused, but not to dominate the discussion.

Changes in Group Participation

The following excerpts from meeting records illustrate the development of the group from an attitude of dependence on the leader ("Tell us what to do") to one of independence, with the group making all decisions and the leader acting simply as coordinator.

First session: There was a tendency in the small discussion units to say, "What are we supposed to be working on, anyway? What's this all

about?" Less than half the seminar members responded to a request by the leader for a brief written statement of why each individual was interested in the problem or what he would like the seminar to accomplish.

Second session: The small work units had been asked to discuss anecdotes recorded during the week, with particular emphasis on the gaps in them which pointed to need for more facts, and then to suggest ways of getting those facts. When the entire seminar reconvened, reports from the work units revealed confusion and lack of any positive suggestions:

Subgroup 1—"In comparing various anecdotes, we talked about the possible influence of age, neighborhood, homes."

Subgroup 2—"We didn't come to any conclusion except that we couldn't get very reliable data."

Subgroup 3—"We didn't know what would be used as a measure. In discussing the anecdotes, we tried to draw out age, background, etc."

After the session ended, individual conversations revealed strong indications of dissatisfaction, mutters of "wasted time." Evidently the members had expected the leader to present them with measuring instruments all prepared.

Third session: Discussion of the tentative forms prepared by the staff was lively and very much to the point. Every one participated; there was a good deal of cross discussion in the subgroups, members answering each other. The general attitude toward the forms was positive, but there was no hesitation about criticizing specific points. The tone and the amount of detail of the subgroup reports indicated that the work units had really "got their teeth" into the job. By the end of the session all the members seemed willing—some of them eager—to try the forms with their classes.

Fourth session: The leader had presented the possibility that permission to gather data in the public schools might be refused and asked the work units to discuss possible alternatives. Discussions indicated clear preference for working in the public schools and an awareness that any other plan was makeshift. However, the major trend seemed to be, "If we are refused in the public schools, let's make the best of it and see how much we can salvage." The desire to continue the seminar as a research

group collecting original data was almost unanimous; suggestions by the staff that data be brought in from other projects or that the seminar be discontinued were rejected.

Fifth session: Permission to carry on research in the public schools was denied. The seminar voted to continue with groups of children outside the schools. Only two members of the seminar dropped out at this point.

Sixth session: The sectarian nature of most of the outside groups that had been secured detracted seriously from the value of two of the three measuring instruments. One of the seminar members working in the Hebrew schools reported a modification he had worked out by which it was possible to establish hypothetical mixed groups.

Seventh session (meeting of committee to recommend action): Discussion was animated; one idea after another was offered and evaluated. The leader acted almost as an observer; his only active participation was in summarizing the recommendations. All suggestions were in terms of work to be done by committees of the seminar—not by the leader and his staff nor even by one or two prominent individuals. It was clearly stated that all reports, etc., were to be presented by the whole seminar, which had become an entity in itself, rather than by the sponsoring organization or any individuals.

Tenth session: The committee's action recommendations were discussed by the seminar, and most of them were accepted. However, it was by no means a "rubber stamp" session; proposals were discussed and evaluated, and changes made. An executive committee was set up to direct further work; no attempt was made to get the staff to shoulder the responsibility.

This shift in group attitudes was never mentioned by the leader or by staff members, and, after the second meeting, no mention was made of the leader's concept of his function. However, several members of the seminar expressed awareness and understanding of the techniques of democratic leadership used and an intention to put them into practice in their own situations.

The principal of a junior high school showed a particularly marked change. At the beginning of the seminar she had expressed

rather conservative views: progressive education, she said, was anarchy; there was nothing authoritarian or undemocratic about American education, at least not in the public schools of this particular city. At dinner before the fourth session of the seminar, she said: "I'm so tired. I've just conducted a faculty meeting democratically. It was exhausting for me—but it worked." Interested questions urged her to explain. "You see, we've always had trouble about advisers for after-school clubs. The teachers always say they're too busy, and they refuse to take on the job. This year they insisted there were too many clubs, and they wanted me as principal to decide which ones should be eliminated. I turned it back to them, asked them to discuss the values of each club and then decide which ones should be discontinued. As they talked, they decided every single club was important. They voted to keep every one, and every one got an adviser. I learned something: being democratic is not only a good theory—it brings results."

Changes in Attitudes Toward Need for Facts and Possibilities of Action

The first two sessions of the seminar, at which anecdotes were reported, revealed a twofold attitude: on the one hand, almost every one had his own theory of what caused prejudice and how it could be cured; on the other hand, the "experts" were expected to hand out a definite prescription. No one seemed to feel a need to offer evidence for his interpretation or to check its validity. Suggestions for remedies were grand generalities: "You have to work with the parents, because prejudice begins at home" and "It's the lower classes you have to concentrate on," etc.

The need for facts as a basis for action was frequently stated by the leader, particularly in the early sessions. The development of the seminar revealed a change in the kind of evidence that was accepted and the kinds of action seen as appropriate. Again excerpts from meeting records are given.

First session: A teacher in a vocational school reported an incident of a boy who told her he wasn't going to church any more because his minister had said all men were brothers under the skin, and "I'll be damned if I'll be a brother to a Jew or a nigger." She sent a report to the office that this boy should not be recommended for a defense job because he was a Nazi. No one in the discussion group questioned whether this was adequate handling of the situation.

Second session: The principal of a Hebrew school and the principal of a junior high school argued for about fifteen minutes about whether children were ever kept at public school after hours and if such detention interfered with their religious education.

Fourth session: The reporter of one of the subgroups said that in discussing possible alternatives, in case data could not be gathered in the public schools, one suggestion was "that we should just assume that there is friction and think about the remedy." This was greeted with considerable laughter.

Sixth session: Seminar member: "Suppose this material we gather shows certain things, which it will. Suppose it shows that prejudice is rooted in the home or perhaps that it is accelerated by the schools. What then?"

Leader: "The facts will be reported to the members."

Member: "But what are we going to do about it, or who will do what about it? What do we want to do about it?"

Seventh session: One member said she thought it was pointless to interview children below the fifth grade. Below that age, she said, children do not differentiate; they merely repeat something they hear which they do not understand. Many members replied that we cannot go on the basis of such a theory but must have facts.

Ninth session (meeting of committee to recommend action): Miss L.:^a "I recommend that we go to the parent education classes, because so much prejudice comes from the home."

Miss G: "Did our study show that so much prejudice comes from the

^a All initials used are fictitious. Descriptions of individuals have been changed slightly to avoid identification, but not in ways that would change the meaning of any situation reported.

home? That's something we're fond of saying, but I don't think the study bore that out completely. I think the most hopeful place is to start with children. I think the schools have been passing the buck too long."

Miss L: "But we have children so short a time."

Miss G: "We have them day in and day out, all year long."

Mr. R (Hebrew-school teacher): "But we can't do anything in the schools; it is a policy not to discuss these things in the public schools."

Miss G: "But we can go to the school board with recommendations."

Mr. R: "I think we shouldn't make any recommendations for that sort of action until we have more data. (To leader) Don't you agree?"

Leader: "No. I think one thing we can surely say is that schools have more responsibility than they are taking."

The group expressed agreement with the leader's statement.

Summarizing these excerpts: Although individuals varied, for the group as a whole there was a fairly continuous line of development. At first there was a tendency either to accept anecdotes uncritically or to engage in irrelevant arguments about minor points (illustrated in sessions 1 and 2). This gave way to an awareness of the importance of facts as a basis for understanding (illustrated in sessions 4 and 7, where suggestions to skip over fact gathering were rejected). Demands for action became increasingly insistent and ideas about possible action increasingly realistic (sessions 6 and 9).

Conclusion

A study group focused on problems of relationships between Jewish and Christian school children demonstrated the feasibility of in-service training for teachers through a seminar method. The seminar approach seems to have certain advantages over the usual lecture course or discussion group.

By defining their own problem, constructing measuring instruments, and gathering and analyzing data, the members gain not

only factual knowledge but simple research skills. Since the problem and the findings are their own, interest is high; it is simply not possible to sit back and wait for information to be handed out. The process of gathering data lessens dependence on authority without precluding the possibility of guidance. The emphasis on facts tends to ensure objectivity.

It is suggested that this technique can be used in many areas. It seems especially promising for situations where the aim is to change attitudes as well as to give information, or in "sensitive" or controversial areas. It might be used, for example, in discussing administrative problems within a department, in deciding the best way of handling case loads within a social agency and in investigating needs of students as a basis for curriculum planning.

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GOOD INTENTIONS AND GOOD TECHNIQUES

Lewis A. Dexter

Once, it is reported, a colleague of William Lloyd Garrison harangued a group of good New Hampshire burghers long and loud about the iniquity of slavery. He explained to them that the Constitution, inasmuch as it tolerated slavery, was a pact with sin, and that they, supporters of the Constitution as they were, in consequence must number themselves among the devil's best disciples. The reaction of the audience was not favorable.

After the meeting, one of the townsfolk went up to the speaker. "Brother Stephen," he asked "you know and I know that no one here holds slaves. Therefore, you are threshing at straws when you damn the slaveholders. And you know that we are all loyal Americans. Therefore, when you attack the Constitution, you make us feel that perhaps the South has right on its side, and that you agitators are a pestilent lot who should be jailed. Why, then, do you speak as you do?"

"Brother Phineas" replied the orator, "you mistake, I am not here to convert humans. I am here only to give testimony before the Lord in regard to the sins of humanity."

At times, one wonders whether this is not a fair sample of the attitude and outlook of good-will organizations. Otherwise, why do not those who try to do good do better? The weakness of good-will organizations seems to be—

Before completing the sentence, an explanation is in order. This article is definitely not written for everybody. It is within the family. It is for mature liberals who are prepared to devote time and money and effort to world government or improved race or labor relations or civil liberties. It is addressed to those who know that criticism is not condemnation and that an effort to find out how philanthropic time and money may be managed efficiently stems from the most intense sympathy and concern.

The weakness of good-will organizations lies, perhaps, in their failure to ask small, specific questions. They ask themselves: What shall we do? But they do not break this mammoth query down into manageable problems like: How are we going to do it? Where do we start? What resources do we have? When can we hope to finish the first step? What alternative methods of procedure are there?

In other words, all too often, we try to convert the universe indiscriminately. And when we try to persuade everybody, we persuade nobody except those who are already converted. A typical type of social-action "executive" is a popular speaker, who moves constantly from one audience to another, "inspiring" as he goes. Nobody knows what happens as a result of his speeches—but it is a pretty fair guess that nothing happens, except that some people feel inspired.

Good-will organizations try to change established habits and values. This means that they want people to make the greatest conceivable sacrifice. They want people to give up accustomed ways of thinking, whether about race or religion or tariffs or armaments or immigration. This is a tremendous sacrifice because habits and attitudes are part of an entire personality—are, in sociological jargon, functions of the role that the person plays.

There are, for example, many people who would, as of December 1945, have to change hundreds of other things about themselves, before they could permit themselves to believe that Russia should be trusted as much as the United States or Great Britain. And vice versa, hundreds of difficulties might arise for a loyal Stalinist who began to feel that maybe the British Empire is not so bad.

If you are a member, socially and economically, of the management crowd in a factory town, you cannot afford to take labor's point of view. And there are plenty of places, not only in the Solid South and among trades unions but among professional intellectuals where a person suspected of voting Republican would be regarded as eccentric.

In other words, attitudes toward Russia or race or labor are part of attitudes toward life. Attitudes toward life are produced by experience rather than by reasoning. A facile talker may momentarily influence the less verbal; but, in the course of days or weeks, pressure from one's associates and the habits of a lifetime will triumph. Any reader who questions this generalization may test it very simply. Let him observe himself the next time he is influenced toward a viewpoint which, in terms of his background and associates, is unusual or peculiar. Then, a couple of weeks later, let him trace the history of his return to a more conventional outlook.

All this does not mean that we cannot win crusades and influence people. It is simply to suggest that winning crusades is a matter of strategy and planning. Peter the Hermits who started off by thinking success is sure just because they are right are extremely costly liabilities.

If we recognize the magnitude of our tasks, we would plan with care, just as advertising agencies do. We would use the techniques, made familiar by the Gallup Poll and the Office of War Information, to measure the effectiveness of our efforts.

First, we would make a list of priorities. We would call our shots and pick our spots. In so doing, we would take three factors into account: need, possibility of success, and membership pressure. Evidently, in terms of the over-all world situation, the betterment of Russian-American relations is more important than the development of good feeling between Paraguay and Bolivia; and, I suggest, close analysis would show that, whatever the merits and demerits of the Palestine situation, the behavior of white men in China, Java, Burma, Annam, Siam, and American Samoa is much more likely to prove catastrophic.

Membership pressure may, however, in some cases reverse the order of priority. Terrible as may be the consequences of the United Nations' policy in Asia, there are probably not one tenth as many persons in the United States, today, who will get excited about this

as about the admission of Jews to the Holy Land. In any case, it is perfectly obvious that those who give time and money will not continue giving time and money unless the expenditure is along lines they like. So, sometimes, we must fight men like Bilbo, when it would be more effective to direct our fire against a Jim Simpson, reactionary candidate for the senatorial nomination in Alabama in 1944. But executives have an obligation always to educate their constituents to think in terms of need and possibility of success.

Possibility of success cannot of course always be judged accurately. But the clear tendency of amateur enthusiasts to go after the nastiest reactionary rather than the weakest is evidently foolish. "Ham" Fish, to be sure, was finally beaten, but if the prominent New Yorkers who concentrated against him had spent their time and money in New York City congressional districts, they probably would have contributed more effectively than they did. Indeed, in 1942 (because of its bearing on the 1944 Presidential election it was very important), they might have succeeded in re-electing Lieutenant Governor Poletti, of New York, whereas they did not, in that year, beat Mr. Fish. And it is easy to find good people, eager to do something about Senator Bilbo or Representative Rankin, who do not even know the name of their own Congressman, let alone how he feels about the F.E.P.C. In fact, the pickets who paraded in front of Senator Bilbo's residence were testifying before the Lord, rather than converting mankind to better behavior.

Had we but time, a guidebook could easily be prepared called, "So—You're Going to Work for a Worthy Cause." In default, thereof, the two other most essential points in effective social action may be stated. First, it is an elementary law of the strategy of social reform that dispersion of effort is waste of effort. It is only by re-iteration, re-enforcement, and constant emphasis that change can be brought about. Ideally, a social-action executive should never make a speech that is not part of a campaign in which the same group will be exposed to the same idea, again and again in different

forms. Effort, in other words, should be directed against those points that are worth taking, where the opposition is weakest. The next point then is: How can we know where these are?

This brings us to the final issue, the need for continual research and study. Liberal groups in the larger American cities, with a Protestant, Anglo-American intellectual leadership, are constantly trying to get representation and cooperation from labor or ethnic groups. But, because of their own prejudices and biases, these middle-class old-stock Americans select as their collaborators, labor leaders or members of the ethnic groups who are not representative. They overlook or pass over the real leaders, because they choose members of the outside group who are much like their inside group. Indeed, in a few cities, there are "liberal" Catholics who have made almost a profession of serving on boards and committees of organizations of the type described, and who have no influence at all in the Catholic community. Study would enable organizations to select for their collaborators men who really represent the minority group *or* to find out why cooperation with a particular minority group is difficult to achieve.

A concrete example may illustrate the utility of sociological analysis preceding action. A liberal group was eager to defeat a reactionary congressman. Two young sociologists were employed to study the situation. Using scientific techniques of voting analysis, they were able to discover in about a week that a certain type of Democratic candidate always ran ahead of the Democratic ticket in the constituency in question. Their report led to the selection by the Democratic organization of a man who met their specifications. He was elected by about the same majority as that by which the preceding Democratic Congressional nominee had lost; and has proved himself an excellent, liberal Congressman.

Consider the speaker "executive" commonly employed by social action groups. Is he worth his salt? To answer this question, one has to find out: Whom does he influence and how? The various studies

of what speaking does to people describe techniques useful in answering this question. And, once the question is answered, it will be possible to determine with what types of audiences he is most effective with, and with what types of audiences he is least successful.

Similar studies could be made of the publications of good-will groups. Waples, Berelson, and Bradshaw's *What Reading Does to People* suggests questions which could fruitfully be asked about printed matter. Indeed, the monumental publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and election throwaways alike can be analyzed with the methods they propose. Were such studies to be undertaken, the return on the philanthropic dollar and hour would undoubtedly become very much higher than it now is.

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COMMUNITY DISCOVERY THROUGH SURVEY AND DISCUSSION

Walter S. Ryder and Eugene C. Chenoweth

The writers recently became interested in the possibilities of uniting their efforts in the study of communities, or of directing the scientific study of certain communities. Under the auspices of the Extension Department of Central Michigan College of Education and with the personal cooperation of the Huron County School Commissioner, we collaborated in the giving of two extension courses in Huron County with Bad Axe as a center. One of these courses was intended to cover community survey and analysis, the other, group and forum discussion.

The classes were composed of forty city, town, and rural school teachers and principals. A considerable number of the class members were married, and the majority of them were women. All of them were actively engaged in teaching or supervision in their respective schools throughout their county or adjacent to the county line. They were generally inexperienced in the concept or practice of the project which we were planning to introduce. We met the classes once a week for fifteen weeks, and within the first two weeks had enlisted the teachers in the experiment of social survey and group discussion.

We set out on this cooperative project without the benefit of previous patterns of procedure. Besides making it possible for class members to win academic credits toward college graduation or eligibility for teaching, we had in mind the ultimate purpose of helping them to do a better job as school leaders in their communities and school districts.

Methodology

In order to gain orientation for our work, we made a two-day preliminary survey of the county by automobile in the company of

the County School Commissioner, the County Agricultural Agent, and the Coordinator of the Sloan Foundation in Applied Economics at Central Michigan College of Education. By prearrangement, we visited typical farming sections, cooperative elevators, dairies and stores, schools, churches, rural electrification plants, lakeshore cities, tourist resorts, parks and recreational grounds, and certain "ghost towns" along the northern shores, the vestiges of the early Michigan lumbering industry.

Through association with these leaders and others in the county to whom we were introduced, we became acquainted in a relatively brief time with the historic background, the people, culture traits, agricultural resources, farming methods, farm cooperatives and clubs, institutional life, and certain problems of the entire county. On the other hand, we were given opportunity to share with them our purposes and hopes with reference to the cooperative studies and research through the extension classes and enlist their further support in our combined efforts.

In the sociological group, we made a study of culture groups, social institutions, and community life. We found it advisable to define a community as a working concept in our survey and discussion. We were guided by the approach of Dr. Pauline V. Young to the effect that "whether the local community studied is large or small, complex or simple, incorporated or unincorporated, with definite boundaries or without, it is always understood that (1) it occupies a territorial area; (2) it is characterized by common interests and (3) common patterns of social and economic relations; (4) it derives a common bond of solidarity from the conditions of its abode; (5) it has a constellation of social institutions; and (6) it is subject to some degree of group control."¹

We reviewed the social survey movement in Europe and America. We canvassed various methods employed in the making of social surveys, such as sources of information, field of investigation, the

¹ Scientific Social Surveys and Research, p. 465.

schedule and questionnaire, the interview, the use of historical data, case study, graphical representation, sociometric scales, the ecological approach, and the organization and analysis of social data. In order to save time, we were compelled to make a start in surveying and discussion almost at once, so that class sessions and social survey and discussion ran concurrently.

Our lectures were supplemented by addresses by county officers, such as the school commissioner and the county agricultural agent. These speakers appeared more than once during the extension period, and gave invaluable information and insights in connection with the surveys and the group discussions. Had it not been for the gracious and competent interest of these representatives, we could not have made an effective approach to our tasks nor brought them to any reasonable conclusion.

We early suggested and later developed certain categories of social survey or major functional units of community life. These were either used directly by the class members in their social surveys or served as guides for the development of their own categories according to the nature of their communities. The final list comprised twelve areas of study, as follows: (1) geographic and physical setting, (2) population, (3) occupations, (4) local government, (5) mobility and communication, (6) family life, (7) educational facilities, (8) religion and churches, (9) leisure-time and play activities, (10) social maladjustments, (11) welfare agencies, and (12) community attitudes, morale, and leadership.

In order that the objectives in discussion might be attained, systematized methods were followed. The first phase of the work, therefore, consisted of consideration of the methods of discussion. This included a study of the following principles: (1) the initiation and organization of group and forum discussions; (2) the selection of practical questions for discussion, including those that grew directly out of the surveys; (3) gathering data and evidence for dis-

cussion; (4) outlining discussion materials; (5) participating in discussions; (6) leadership in discussion; (7) discussing the question; (8) straight thinking in discussion; and (9) types of discussion.

The second step toward attaining the objectives in group and forum discussion was the conducting of such discussions in the extension classes. The teachers participated in and led members of the class in discussions of problems growing out of their surveys. After the teachers became sufficiently acquainted with discussion methods, they brought groups of their own pupils, civic leaders, parents, businessmen, Farm Bureau leaders, and 4-H Clubs to the center at Bad Axe, and demonstrated the actual work that was being done in their communities and school districts.

Specifically, we have to report the holding of the following panels or group discussions: (1) a panel of rural school children, led by a member of the extension class, discussed the question, "Why it is desirable to live on the farm"; (2) a panel of Bad Axe civic leaders, directed by one of the class members who was herself a civic leader in the town, considered the question of "Youth Delinquency"; (3) a panel composed of Harbor Beach Senior and Junior High School students, led by the Junior High principal, weighed ways and means of providing ice- and roller-skating rinks and other adequate recreational facilities in their home town; (4) a panel of Farm Bureau members had a discussion of the subject, "Postwar Problems in Relation to Agriculture"; (5) a group of parents and teachers discussed methods of bringing about closer cooperation between the home and the schools; (6) a group of 4-H Club boys and girls, led by a member of the extension class, considered problems of recreation and desirable agricultural projects; and (7) a forum discussion on the relation of the church to the community was introduced by a lecture on the part of one of the local ministers.

In the third phase of the procedure, the teachers of the class

initiated numerous panel, group, and forum discussions in connection with actual school, church, and community problems throughout Huron County.

Some Significant Findings

1. The surveys were made on the ground, in the districts where the teachers were working from day to day in their schools. Only in this way could the project have been carried on. The method stood in contrast to the attempt to teach and conduct social surveys from the standpoint of the college campus. Participation was immediately enlisted, and the work made functional. As the County School Commissioner remarked, interest in social research and discussion grew with each succeeding meeting of the class. School and social problems were clarified for them, so that they were in a better position to deal intelligently with them.

2. Class members developed an encouraging objectivity of approach to social situations, an ability to analyze the merits and demerits of community life, and a significant degree of social understanding. Interstimulation of one another characterized the entire period of survey and discussion. Students came back from their fields of labor and observation to the classroom with new vigor and insights for the discussional period, and in turn carried back from the discussions renewed interest and orientation. At the beginning we found a strong tendency to exaggerate the good points of community life to the neglect of social defects. This booster, self-evaluating attitude was gradually redirected to a more impersonal, scientific judgment.

3. The final reports showed that no less than twenty-six distinct communities or areas had been surveyed during the period. The majority were rural in nature, or villages with farm surroundings. Several of them were larger and more influential centers such as Bad Axe, the county seat, Elkton, Cass City, Owendale, Parisville, Port Hope, and Harbor Beach. For the most part, the surveys

showed a creditable amount of work and research ability and indicated that the surveyors had put into practice a considerable number of the social concepts and instruments which had been presented in class. Practically without exception, this was the first experience of the kind that the teachers had ever had.

4. Within certain limits, this cooperative project became more and more self-directing. On the one hand, the services of a number of county representatives were enlisted in the class sessions at the center. These included the County School Commissioner, the County Agricultural Agent, 4-H Club, Farm Bureau, and civic leaders, school principals and superintendents, and clergymen. On the other hand, class members were given a surprising amount of support in their local communities by old-time residents, key leaders, and township officers. By virtue of such cooperation, all concerned got a better picture of the county as a whole, with its resources, people, deficiencies, and possibilities.

5. Not the least of the outcomes was a revelation of the interesting history of the various peoples who compose the population, with their group origins, cultures, and peculiarities. Into this county there have been invasions of Germans, Poles, English, Scotch, Irish, and Canadians, in unusual combination. The county is characterized by compact communities of Germans and Poles, in particular, and by composite groups of diverse nationalities and cultural backgrounds. The region holds arresting appeal for the sociologist who would have time and financial backing for the study of group assimilation, accommodation, and social transition.

6. Economically and agriculturally, Huron County is one of the leading counties in the State of Michigan and of the United States. Geologic deposits and climate have laid enviable foundations for various kinds of farming, and the majority of farmers have taken full advantage of their opportunities. Their wealth and incomes are exceptional in many instances, and, in the large, the entire region is self-maintaining, self-reliant, and prosperous. Native sons

and daughters are proud to tell the outsider of the county's desirable features, and to proclaim that Huron County is "the Bean Capital of the World."

7. Representative school activities that grew directly out of the survey-discussion project are worthy of mention. A group of high-school students in a good-sized town staged a forum discussion before the local Lions Club and Parent-Teacher Association on the question, "Can we plan recreation so that there will be less delinquency?" Specific plans were outlined for the establishment of desirable forms of recreation for youth.

The pupils, parents, and teacher of a township school discussed the question, "How can we make the school a community gathering place?" They organized a 4-H Club and promoted parties and programs for adults and children.

The pupils of another township school planned better homes and improved sanitation for the farm and discussed such questions as "Why is farm life better than city life?" As a result of group discussions, the children of a village school raised money for the purchase of a sewing machine for the girls and jig-saw and tools for the boys. Another township school made definite plans to improve the school grounds.

The sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade English classes of another township school discussed ways and means of making the school-room more homelike. They appointed a decorating committee, raised some money, the larger boys brought tools, and the students as a whole went to work to accomplish their goals.

Recognition was given to the school consolidation movement in certain sections of the county, and influences were exerted through the extension classes in favor of bringing additional independent schools into the consolidated systems.

Bad Axe itself was alive to any new ideas or encouragement for latent ones concerning community organization and improvement. During the three-month duration of our project, we witnessed the

growth of community sentiment and leadership toward the creation of a community council which would be expressive of various interests and make possible a more effective attack upon an incipient juvenile delinquency and other wartime problems.

8. Our surveys and discussions uncovered grave cultural lags and community problems. In order to crystallize their findings, we required all members of the survey class to submit specific answers to the following question: If you were given \$10,000 a year for the next three years, how would you use the money for the improvement of your community? A long list of practical and sensible suggestions was named, of which a few typical ones are recorded.

One teacher would build and equip a community center near the high school, with gymnasium, auditorium, and athletic field, all under a director. Another would improve the bathing beaches, provide adequate bath-houses and service buildings, and inaugurate an all-community summer program of supervised athletic sports and contests.

There were repeated demands for band instruments, library and reading rooms, study halls, recreational rooms, playgrounds adjoining the schools, vocal and instrumental music classes with proper facilities, dramatics and athletics of various types, with supervision, landscaping of school lawns and grounds, modernized school plans, and regular school caretakers.

One community called for better trained teachers and more equipment in particular for the learning and enjoyment of music and art. Another asked for a new school building, a health center and hospital, a public library, a sewage disposal plant, and park and camping grounds. Another outlined a modern inn for tourist trade, a court of tourist cabins, a community building, the teaching of farm methods, a health program, and the coordination of the school and community needs.

A rural teacher dreamed of a playground with supervised play, 4-H Clubs, farmers' clubs, weekly or bi-weekly discussion groups with special reference to farm problems, and the teaching of appreciation of good books.

A considerable number of teachers asked for more recreational features within the schools and the communities. Several cited instruction in home economics, agriculture, and farm management. Unique suggestions

came from one teacher for hobby rooms in the school for boys and girls, a gymnasium adapted to roller skating and bowling alleys, and twelve-month teachers who would serve the community as well as the school.

From one of the city teachers who was active in civic affairs came the most elaborate program, calling for a full-time vocational director in the schools, likewise a director of mental hygiene, especially for retarded children, a city nurse and health unit, a garbage disposal plant, community restrooms, a well-equipped youth center, a city airport, and adequate parking facilities. These planks in a progressive platform represented a growing consensus of public opinion in wartime.

Although trusting that our experimental project holds inherent values, we believe its real success will be best determined by the continuity of community-centered interest. There is a good deal of evidence that in certain communities this interest does continue along practical lines. Persons have been made cognizant of community life situations who had previously had no awareness of them.

A lively and continuous interest in community well-being, enlisting all citizens, would be the ideal, of course, and, in order to maintain that interest, the social survey, with accompanying discussion of special problems, about every ten years, like the Federal census, ought to be productive of lasting good.

This is apparently the type of community movement which is recommended and anticipated by the Michigan Planning Commission, appointed by Governor Harry F. Kelly. The Commission looks to the creation of locally organized groups, local planning, city-village, and county-township social action, during the critical postwar period.

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THE NEGRO VETERAN AND AMERICA'S FUTURE

Arthur D. Wright

American ideas, culture, concepts, traditions, and prejudices debarked with the American troops in Europe. A culture supposedly democratic in origin and purpose was suddenly transplanted to Europe and other shores. It is important that we fully understand that the interaction of the two cultures—the one that we brought, the other that we met—colored the experience and attitudes of the American GI. Similarly, we must recognize the role of the over-all Army—symbol of oneness, unity, and authority—that attempted to prescribe the extent and manner with which American troops were to come in contact with local citizenry. The army usage of the phrase “Off Limits to Military Personnel” should indicate to some extent the manner in which civilian-military contacts were influenced and controlled.

It would seem wise to discuss the role of the Army first. The armed services undoubtedly represent the most regimented, standardized, and controlled institutions in our culture. Induction into the Army means a way of life is prescribed for twenty-four hours a day. Theoretically, the Army is supposed to “bring out the best” in a man. In practice, every aspect of personality is subordinated and controlled by “orders.” A man is not encouraged to think, to use initiative—rather he is molded to fit. “A good soldier is one who follows orders.” Obedience to orders is ensured via the threat, intimidation, and punishment provided in the Court-Martial Manual. It is this concept of demand obedience with the threat of court martial that must be understood. It is the power, vested in authority of office or commission to punish, to reward, to deny, to provide, that must be grasped. It is understanding the domination of policies from above, of procedures, of regulations, of practices that provides one of the crutches for understanding the experience of any soldier, whether he is black or white.

The Army, through its control of policies, procedures, etc., became the main frustrating agency for the Negro soldier abroad. It was the Army that said black here, white there. It was the Army that relegated the major role of the Negro soldier to that of laborer, stevedore, to the unglorified tasks of menials. It was the Army that found such few Negroes qualified to serve as officers, irrespective of their previous training and skills. It was the Army that encouraged and supported the Red Cross clubs in their discriminatory treatment of Negro soldiers. The Red Cross found it consistent with United States Army policy, as administered and interpreted by its officials, to provide separate lodging and recreational facilities for battle-scarred weary Negro GI's, returned for rest and furlough from the front lines. It was the Army that discouraged white soldiers from any attempts at fraternization with black troops. When differences occurred between black and white troops, it was the Army that placed the onus of responsibility and blame upon the Negroes. The sign, "Off Limits to Negro Personnel," was not unfamiliar. It was the Army that attempted to influence the official attitudes of European countries concerning the method by which the black "American colonials" was to be received.

Undoubtedly, from the standpoint of good politics or whatever, the Americans were welcomed in Great Britain and Continental countries, except Germany. (The exception is subject to question should a recent poll in which 51 per cent of American GI's interviewed stated that they "believed the Germans were right and their society beneficial" be substantiated.) The Americans came as the fighting representatives of one of the world's greatest democracies. The Americans, along with the other democratic and enslaved nations, were committed to eliminate all vestiges of nazism and facism from the face of the earth. The elimination of the Nazi and Fascist armies meant the destruction of the physical sources of power to enslave and to hate because of race.

The American troops were welcomed and made to feel "at home"

and the full facilities of the countries were placed at their disposal. Theaters, dance palaces, skating rinks, restaurants, taverns, hotels, families, and homes vied with each other in being hospitable to the Yank. The people of Great Britain and Europe accepted the American uniform as the badge of our unity and oneness in this struggle against hate and enslavement. They deliberately and conscientiously avoided any distinction in treatment or acceptance between black or white Americans. To the people of Europe, the United States Army uniform spelled American or "Yank."

Undoubtedly a fair and articulate and influential segment of United States Army personnel had different or original ideas about the "oneness" of our forces. Given official sanction, these ideas were directed toward the development of hatred, and distrust of, and hostility toward the Negro soldier and the arrangement for his total isolation from and participation in the social life of the community. It should be noted that the published and officially proclaimed attitude of the Army "high command" was that "there shall be no discrimination against any soldier because of race, color, or creed."

"Official sanction," the reader must understand does not require a written memorandum to substantiate a "fact." For instance, a United States colonel, invited to a British official's home, is confronted with this type of question: "You Americans discriminate terribly against your black Yanks. Why?" The response is alleged to be: "Our Army policy is not to discriminate. However, if you know a group to be immoral, indecent, dirty, capable of rape, of thievery, still not free from the vestiges of savagery, I should be less of a gentleman, and certainly unappreciative of your country's kindness as a host, if I did not warn you of the rottenness of this crowd of blacks. At home we call them 'niggers.'" This type of situation when encouraged by high United States Army Officials, very definitely carries the responsibility of "Official sanction."

When enlisted men were involved, their prejudices and hostilities

were protected and supported by their officers. In Glasgow, Scotland, there was a rather popular dance hall frequented by local citizenry and United States Army personnel. A southern sailor objected to a Negro soldier's dancing with a Scottish girl. He used vulgar, obscene, and insulting terms to the Negro and his companions. A fight ensued. It is significant that the majority of white soldiers sided with the Negro. The next day, the Negro soldiers' battalion was notified that the dance hall was "Off Limits to Negro Personnel." Also, significantly, the owner of the dance hall retaliated with the statement, "If it's off limits to the "Black Yanks," it's off limits to "White Yanks." The lieutenant colonel in charge of this Negro battalion took the initiative to see that the "Off Limits" was similarly applied to white troops. This is one instance in which the "Official Sanction" discriminatory order was revoked through efforts of a white lieutenant colonel.

On the one hand we have the people of Great Britain and Europe accepting the United States uniform as the badge of oneness and friendship. On the other hand we have this articulate group of Americans fostering a philosophy and policy of hate toward the Negro. For further study of and insight into the attempts made by Americans to inject hate philosophy and policy toward the Negro into the everyday life patterns of the people of Great Britain, the reader is referred to the press of that country, which almost daily waged a campaign against Americans who attempted to prescribe a way of life for them.

The writer is definitely of the opinion that, as a result of the culture interactions among Americans, the people of Great Britain, and those of Europe, Americans have lost considerably in the way of respect, status, and prestige. Similarly, it is his opinion that the Negro has gained tremendously in prestige and status.

The Negro, because of his Jim Crow status as a soldier, had some insight into what he could or could not do according to Army standards. Nevertheless, it was somewhat of a shock for him to have

persons walk up and ask: "Where do you keep your tail? Please bark," or to have surprise expressed at his unsavage-like appearance and human conduct. But he was also shocked to find women afraid of loss of caste or social status through association with him.

The Negro believed that this curiosity concerning him and his social rejection was due to lack of knowledge on the part of the people he met. He knew and understood too well their sources of information. He threw off the desire to fraternize by working harder, with an increasing hostility toward his white officers, toward the Army. He knew that, psychologically and physically, the Army was trying to make a slave of him rather than to bring out the very best in him.

This withdrawal gave him many opportunities for observation. He learned that the Scots disliked the English, and the English reciprocated this feeling. The same feelings were expressed by and toward the Welsh, the Irish. As one Negro described it: "Everybody over here hates everybody else. These people are too busy hating each other to take on any new hates, meaning me."

Certainly in one respect he was prophetic. The local community did not take time out to hate him. Rather, they interpreted his withdrawal as a sign of modesty, gentility, and good taste. As time passed the community would openly challenge Americans' discrimination toward "these gentle and refined Negroes." One instance vividly illustrates this attitude. In Scotland, a tavern owner displayed this sign: "Yanks Keep Out—Black Yanks Welcome." One Negro soldier went into the tavern and persuaded the owner that discrimination whether directed at black or white was wrong. He succeeded in having the sign removed. In another instance, an Englishwoman, formerly a star of light opera, stated: "The Americans are going to have a devil of a time making us dislike the Negro. You see, we've never met many Negroes before. Those that we have met or have come into contact with are the Duke Ellingtons, Paul Robesons, Marian Andersons, and Du Bois type. All were

definite artists and scholars. Our impression is that all American Negroes are geniuses. The white Americans are really making themselves appear quite stupid."

In summary it can be stated that the Negro soldier was received with a warmth and hospitality that exceeded his fondest dreams. To quote one: "It seems so strange to have to travel so many thousands of miles to be treated like a human being. I've been made to feel welcome in homes all over Europe. It is only in my own country that I am treated as diseased and unwanted, and that is the country I am fighting for."

Most of the Negro soldiers' experiences were colored with the realization that one day he would go home "to the old country." During the war his home was with the Army. There his reminders were constant that he was an inferior, and unwanted. The Army excluded him from everything it possibly could—commissions, opportunities for advancement, opportunities to learn trades (his quotas always managed to be late in arriving and few in number); similarly his furlough and pass privileges were limited.

He was given much discussion about democracy and the great things for which he was fighting. He cautiously sought perspective and fully realized that he was fighting for the right to fight for the freedoms expressed in the Atlantic Charter.

There is a pertinent basis for this thinking that must be understood.

In his contact with the Europeans the Negro was received and accepted. With whites of his own country he experienced both acceptance and rejection. As an example of acceptance: in a "family" restaurant in London usually frequented by GI's, their British wives and children, there was excellent rapport between Negro and white Yanks, and their wives. A white Southerner and a Negro soldier met daily to have dinner. As an example of rejection: A group of paratroopers passing through Le Havre, France, sent word to Negro troops stationed in the area that they had "better

not be seen on the streets wearing paratrooper boots." The Negroes accepted the challenge by continuing to wear the designated "paratrooper boots." Several Negroes were badly beaten. Appeals were made to higher authorities for some type of protection. No positive action ensued. Several days later one or two paratroopers were found dead. The town was placed "Off Limits to Paratroopers."

The Negro soldier had to weave a pattern for survival out of experiences of rejection and acceptance, of frustration and aggression. It is not surprising that his negative experiences have tended to influence him tremendously. Dewey defines education as "that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience." The Negro soldier decided that a society that alternately accepted and rejected him was difficult of anticipation. So long as his future remained hypothetical, his psychological, emotional, and physical well-being could never be secured. In a world still uneducated to the true worth and dignity of all mankind, he must needs create a pattern guaranteed to ensure his own worth. He must strive for liberty, for unity, for originality, for prestige as a cohesive culture group, bound together solely by ties of humiliation. Out of this approach, he dares to dream that the world's future housecleaning will eliminate race as a criterion for full participation in the life and affairs of his community, his nation, his world.

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PROBLEMS OF RE-EDUCATING FASCIST YOUTH

Herbert Lewin

In the widest sense the re-education of German youth must have as its goal the securing of peace by getting the German people to accept peace as a desirable and permanent goal rather than a necessary intermission between wars. Correct assumptions about the reactions of the German youth to re-education and to the peace settlements must serve as a base for the postwar activities of the Allies in Germany. The ideological and habit training, which the youth and young parents have experienced under the Nazi regime, has sought to determine standards of thinking and acting in relation to other nations as well as toward the institutions of their own society.

It is hard for us to perceive the world of human relations through the eyes of a youth whose value training has been so strongly directed toward national goals and loyalties rather than toward the more immediate goals and welfare of the face-to-face community group and toward goals of personal achievement and self-development as ends in themselves. To study one aspect of this difference the author has made a comparative content analysis of the literature for members and leaders of the Hitler Youth and the Boy Scouts of America. The recommended goals or virtues were tabulated, along with an indication as to the types of situations in which these values were supposed to operate. It was found that a distinction could be made between ends and virtues tied up with behaving as a member of the nation, as a member of a face-to-face group in a community (e.g., the youth group), and as an individual seeking personal growth and satisfaction for its own sake. The differences in ideological emphases are well illustrated by the results of this analysis:

	<i>Per Cent</i>	
	<i>Hitler Youth</i>	<i>Boy Scouts</i>
Thinking and behaving as a unit of a national group	65.6	25

	<i>Hitler Youth</i>	<i>Boy Scouts</i>
Thinking and behaving as a face-to-face group member	19.2	27.8
Thinking and behaving as an individual with loyalty to self first	15.2	47.2

In getting our teeth into the re-education problem we might focus our attention on three important results of this difference in emphasis in the rearing of German youth:

1. The Hitler Youth, in proclaiming the primacy of the national interests over the family and personal interests, has tried to sever the normal emotional dependency of the child to his parents and made the youth group the main source of satisfaction and of training in moral values. This shift in the center of gravity of emotional satisfaction, social control, and source of values has been successful to a marked degree.

2. The preoccupation with national welfare and nationalistic goals has led the young German to overestimate the role of his people in the association of all nations. The "Tomorrow the World" attitude has made him a zealous tool of aggression toward other people. He has had unrealistic, as well as antisocial, aspirations and perceptions as to the role of the German national group.

3. The expected submission of the individual to the dictates of the national-socialist movement and to the ultimate authority of the supreme leader has to an important degree eliminated a sense of responsibility for personal thoughts and actions and for any freedom of choice. "The individual is nothing, the nation is everything" attitude has led not only to the suicidal resistance attempts on the part of numerous Hitler Youth units during the closing weeks of the war, but it is and will be a main spring for continued underground resistance.

From these three emphases seem to me to flow implications for four primary goals in the re-education of German youth:

1. The restoration of the family as the basic unit of social control and early education.

2. Substitution for the loyalties linked up with aggressive nationalism by increasing the importance of "localism," of face-to-face community satisfaction.

3. Changing the basis for social status from a position in a power hierarchy to objective recognition for achievement of a socially constructive sort.

4. Re-training in the ability to make personal decisions and take personal responsibility.

In developing a program to work toward these objectives we can of course predict a great deal of resistance to re-education by certain groups, and to certain aspects of change. There will be emotional reactions of resentment, frustration, and even despair in the over-all defeat situation. New aggressive tendencies will emerge. There will be a negative reaction to educational efforts by non-Germans, and it seems apparent that the nearly complete elimination of indigenous democratic leader personnel leaves the Allies with little choice except to provide much non-German personnel if any serious attempt is to be made at re-education in the near future. These persons can count on the cooperation of only a very small number of Germans who understand and accept the situation. The great majority will tend to be indifferent and passive, not daring to swim against any stream, and strongly tempting those in charge to assume authoritarian roles. Then there will be a small but troublesome fringe of Nazi fanatics, and a larger group of less active Nazis biding their time for a comeback, assuming the present defeat is part of a cycle which will change with time. We may now look briefly at a few ideas about re-educational procedures in achieving the four goals suggested:

1. In the present situation we will expect little resistance to the task of restoring the family as the basic unit of social control. Now that the ties of emotional and economic security with the Hitler youth and with military life have been cut the physical and psychological re-grouping into family units will be welcomed by the

youth. The technical problems of reassembling family units are the first "re-educational problems" to be tackled in realizing this objective. The second, much more difficult problem, is how to avoid a return to that paternal domination and child subordination for which the German family is so well known. This calls for a long-term adult-education program in addition to supplying a satisfying range of outside activities for youth.

2. The second educational objective of substituting local and provincial loyalties for the adulation of nationalist goals will encounter severe resistance if no clear-cut activities and symbols can be found which will be acceptable and satisfying to at least a majority of the population. The reconstruction of destroyed localities, cities and countrysides, will be, for years to come, an immediate task for local population groups. Working units of adolescent youths, or even family units, under the supervision of personnel with an educational philosophy and responsibility would be a major educational step. The rebuilding of a hometown and the revival of its economic and social life as an integrated project can serve to produce those emotional attachments which are basic for the formation of a constructive local patriotism and would go far beyond "textbook re-education." Some very unstable emotional reactions of such local groups may be expected, of course, if there are strong failures and frustrations in their local activities, and not enough attention is paid to ensure constructive emotional experiences and symbols. Impatient and rebellious youth will need to be constantly reminded that the chances for a new German prosperity and security will lie in their own application to the tasks at hand in their immediate environment and not in a return to melancholic nationalistic dreams. A minority of serious troublemakers will nevertheless cling to their old allegiances. They will need steady control and must be placed in the role of nonconformist social outsiders. They must not be given the opportunity to become national martyrs.

In considering the problem of changing any given value or loyalty by "verbal means" such as radio, newspapers, etc., and by "action means" such as group projects it is probably worth while for the "re-educator" to differentiate several different aspects of the value which are psychologically important. Let us take the value of "physical health" for the Hitler youth as an example. First, the *ideological context* of the value must be considered. For the Hitler youth the concept of health was closely tied up with the racial philosophy of national socialism. Physical health serves the preservation of the race. Health is more important than knowledge. Verbal re-education means may be used to change the ideological context of the value.

Second, there is what we might call the *functional context* of the value. Each Hitler youth has been given an understanding of what he must do, how he must go about achieving the virtue of good physical health. He is encouraged to daily physical training from his earliest youth. He must not relax in his efforts to become "thin and strong, swift as a greyhound, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel." There are definite "things for him to do" tied up with each value. The re-educator may often find from his diagnosis that the functional context of the value may be preserved if the ideological context is changed.

Third, each virtue or value may be said to have an *emotional context*. By this is meant the intensity of the emotional motivation tied up with the particular value. From the comparative analysis of the material written for youth on physical health in the Hitler youth magazines and the Boy Scout publications it is clear that much more emotional appeal and reinforcement is used in creating the value in the mind of the German youth. This emotional intensity factor will have to be taken into account in re-education plans.

Fourth, each value has an "action" or "*expression context*." This refers to the fact that indoctrination may stress that a given virtue may be demonstrated or realized only while acting as a mem-

ber of the national group, or when acting in the face-to-face group, or for one's own individual satisfaction. To the Hitler youth physical health is stressed as a virtue related to living up to one's national membership obligations. In the Boy Scout literature health is much more stressed as a matter of individual perfection and satisfaction, with the value to national purposes only very secondarily emphasized. The tabulation above has indicated what a striking "nationalistic anchorage" there is to behavior values for the German youth. This is one of the key re-education problems.

3. Changing the basis of social stratification and diminishing "status sensitivity" of the German people is perhaps the toughest of all re-education problems. Two group leadership techniques in handling the situation might be suggested: (a) In any functioning group, youth group or community, establish a wider variety of functions for which recognition is given; *i.e.*, establish a variety of status hierarchies based on different types of competence so that most individuals in a group have both "high" roles and "low" roles in group status depending upon the particular group function; (b) De-emphasize the satisfaction-value of personal status, and therefore the pre-occupation with it, by making group accomplishment and group goals the important value for which most reward is given. Both of these techniques are familiar to group workers who find themselves faced with groups of "status-sensitive" individuals where hostile in-group competition is high.

4. To secure a renewed acceptance of personal responsibility and an enthusiasm for self-determination is perhaps the major objective. The past months have given ample proof of the loss of ability of the German people to accept responsibility. The national-socialist repudiation of the "natural rights" of the individual in favor of the "natural rights" of the racial community seems to have been markedly successful. The young Hitler youth leader was exercising duties ordered from above. The reconstruction activities referred to above may provide an excellent medium for guided experiences

in group and individual self-determination and acceptance of responsibility. These activities will be real life ones as contrasted to what might be done in the classroom. The group should have to develop its own leadership and set the subgoals within the over-all assignments. Many difficulties of group functioning will arise from the fact of nonpractice of democratic skills in group living. The resulting insecurities will lead to the chaotic behavior of the *laissez-faire* situation to outright anxiety neurosis reactions unless the educational leaders understand the transitional problems involved. Again there will be a minority group of resistance leaders who will reject the new type of leadership and will need to be segregated for the good of the group.

The author would like to close this brief statement with the suggestion that the intensive training of key German personnel by trainers skilled in imparting the techniques of democratic leadership should be one of the major immediate re-educational activities; this should take place along with intensive diagnostic work carried out on carefully selected samples of youth with whom experimental re-education work is being done.

BOOK REVIEWS

Four Studies in Teaching Grammar from the Socio-psychological Viewpoint, by WALTER VINCENT KAULFERS. California: Stanford University, 1945, 47 pages.

In his four studies, combined under the general theme of *Teaching Grammar*, Dr. Kaulfers has said clearly some important things about the relation of grammar as an organized set of data about a language to its understanding and use.

The book is an effective demand for an honest attempt to help students use language—either the native English or a foreign tongue—rather than learn about it. Characterizing much grammar study in our schools and colleges as resembling work on jig-saw puzzles, Dr. Kaulfers asks for a new procedure in all language study. He recognizes the value of a grammar text *as reference*, but points out that this is not of much value to a beginner.

Illustrating by problems in verb agreement, tense, pronoun use, and sentence structure, he shows how meaning and purpose can be used. Fragments, often mentioned as proof of need for formal grammar teaching about predicate and subject, he handles by practical situations in which the student sees the fragment as failing in communication.

All of the foregoing imply a new program in language—one in which students will use words purposefully. Dr. Kaulfer's question, "Has any one ever learned to speak merely by translating *other* people's language, or doing *other* peoples' exercises?" voices his basic criticism of present programs.

The teacher of foreign language will find some important questions in this little book. For the teacher of English there is also, however, a clear answer to that oft-repeated complaint from the foreign-language department: Why don't *you* teach them grammar?

Workbook in Child Psychology (Third Edition), by PAULINE A. HUMPHREYS and GERTRUDE HOSEY. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, 120 pages.

This *workbook* consists of sixteen units designed to give the student working tools by which he can gain a knowledge of child psychology.

There is a certain flexibility to the organization of the units which permits of various uses of the material. The exercises probably serve better as study guides for students than as testing devices for the instructors.

The study units correspond to the usual topics discussed in textbooks of child psychology. Each unit contains an assignment, suggestions for study, words and phrases that should be understood, and study exercises.

How We Influence One Another, by VINCENT V. HERR. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1945, 266 pages.

This little book on social psychology is both interesting and practical as suggested by the title. His main purpose is to show the necessity of man's power of reason and the right uses of volition on his part for the attainment of approved and successful human relations.

Chapters 1, Social Psychology and Related Fields, and 2, Methods of Investigation, provide a background for what follows. Chapters 3, 8, 9, and 10 aim at the clarification of the respective roles of emotion and reason and their functioning in life situations. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 sketch the factors underlying all social learning, motivation, and emotionality. Chapter 11 deals with human nature and the qualities of human persons.

The book is well worth reading and the point of view is stimulating.